

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY: S/S-PTARNOFF

APPROVED BY: MR TARNOFF

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 276889

NODIS

CHEROKEE EYES ONLY FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM TEL AVIV DTD 18 NOV 1977 QTE

S E C R E T TEL AVIV 9442

NODIS CHEROKEE

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV XF

SUBJ: INSTRUCTIONS FOR MEETING WITH BEGIN

REF: STATE 276353

1. I HAVE APPOINTMENT WITH BEGIN AND DAYAN AT 1600 LOCAL
AT HIS HOME TOMORROW, NOV 19, JUST BEFORE SADAT
ARRIVAL. I WILL ALSO HAVE OPPORTUNITY FOR PRIVATE
CONVERSATION WITH DAYAN THIS AFTERNOON TO LAY GROUND FOR
MEETING WITH BEGIN. ANY FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS PRIOR TO
BEGIN MEETING TOMORROW SHOULD BE REPEATED JERUSALEM.

2. BEGIN SPOKE TO ME THIS MORNING ON THE PHONE IN WARMEST
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TERMS OF HIS CONVERSATION LAST NIGHT WITH PRESIDENT,
OF WHICH I HAD PREVIOUSLY HEARD ON LOCAL RADIO. HE WAS
VERY PLEASED WITH PRESIDENT'S WARM PERSONAL COMMENTS
AND FELT CONVERSATION WAS HIGHLY USEFUL. FROM HIS
REACTION, I BELIEVE IT SET AN EXCELLENT TONE FOR MY
MEETING TOMORROW.

3. AFTER READING CAREFULLY DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS REFTEL I HAVE SEVERAL THOUGHTS ON WHICH I WOULD LIKE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS PRIOR TO MY MEETING WITH BEGIN. I AGREE THAT HABIB-DINITZ MEETING AND MY TALKS HERE HAVE SOMEWHAT PREPARED ISRAELIS, AND POSITION OUTLINED IN INSTRUCTIONS WILL COME AS NO GREAT SURPRISE. BEGIN AND DAYAN HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY CONCILIATORY IN SAYING "EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE" AND I AM HOPEFUL THEY WILL SAY THIS IN GENEROUS ENOUGH TERMS TO GIVE SADAT SOMETHING ON THIS SCORE WHICH MAY HELP IN MOLLIFYING ASSAD. BIGGEST WORRY IS HOW UNYIELDING BEGIN MAY SOUND IN RESTATING ISRAELI POSITION IN HIS SPEECH TO KNESSET REPLYING TO SADAT. I WILL SAY SOMETHING TO HIM TOMORROW ABOUT THIS.

4. ON KEY OBJECTIVE, PER REFTEL, OF GETTING BREAK-THROUGH ON GENEVA PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT ALONG 1973 LINES, I BELIEVE THE KEY ISSUE (FOR ISRAELIS AS WELL AS, PRESUMABLY, ASSAD) IS ROLE OF UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION AND PLENARY CONFERENCE. ISRAELIS WORRY THAT IN UNIFIED GROUP, MOST EXTREME ARAB COMMON DENOMINATOR WILL PREVAIL. THEY ARE RELUCTANT TO CONCEDE, EVEN SYMBOLICALLY, SYRIAN ROLE IN WEST BANK DISCUSSION. AND THEY ARE MOST OF ALL FEARFUL THAT ROLE FOR UNIFIED DELEGATION MIGHT PREJUDICE THEIR EVENTUAL ABILITY TO STRIKE BILATERAL (POSSIBLY SECRET) DEAL WITH
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EGYPTIANS. NEVERTHELESS, I HAVE NEVER FOUND BEGIN'S ARGUMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT ALTOGETHER CLEAR OR CONVINCING AND SUSPECT THIS MAY BE THE AREA WHERE THERE IS MOST POTENTIAL GIVE IN HIS POSITION. DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT IN EARLIER CONVERSATION ABOUT REVERTING TO 1973 FORMAT, BEGIN SPONTANEOUSLY SUGGESTED THAT IN SUCH FORMAT, WITH NATIONAL DELEGATIONS INSTEAD OF UNIFIED, HE COULD CONSIDER LARGER ROLE FOR PLENARY (DAYAN THEN INTERJECTED TO RESERVE ISRAELI POSITION). IN SAME CONVERSATION, DAYAN INDICATED ISRAELIS MIGHT BE ABLE TO LIVE WITH BRIEF, AMBIGUOUS PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT PROVIDED IT WERE BUTTRESSED BY PRIVATE GOI-USC UNDERSTANDINGS ON THE AMBIGUOUS POINTS.

5. CRUCIAL TO SELLING BEGIN AND DAYAN ON FORMAT OUTLINED REFTEL, THEREFORE, MAY BE DEGREE TO WHICH THEY CAN COUNT ON PRIVATE ASSURANCES AND UNDERSTANDINGS WITH US. THEY WILL WANT TO BE ASSURED THAT FORMAT DOES NOT PREJUDICE PREVIOUSLY UNDERSTOOD ROLE OF BILATERALS. THEY MAY ASK AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING NOT TO TAKE POSITIONS OR PRESS THEM FOR NEGOTIATIONS OR UNDERTAKINGS IN PLENARY THAT WOULD COMPROMISE THEIR POSITION. IF DEPARTMENT

CAN PROVIDE ANY FURTHER AMPLIFICATION OF HOW WE VISUALIZE ROLE OF PLENARY THAT WOULD BE HELPFUL. ABOVE ALL, ANYTHING THAT WOULD REASSURE ISRAELIS ABOUT OUR WILLINGNESS TO REACH PRIVATE PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THEM TO SAFEGUARD THEIR BASIC POSITION, WHATEVER AMBIGUITIES OR SYMBOLIC CONCESSIONS MIGHT BE REQUIRED FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES, COULD BE CRITICAL TO A FORTHCOMING ISRAELI POSITION WITH SADAT. WE HAVE SATISFACTORY UNDERSTANDING ON HOW PALESTINIAN DELEGATES TO BE CHOSEN. WE NEED SOMETHING PARALLEL ON ROLE OF UNIFIED DELEGATION. I WILL, OF COURSE, GIVE ASSURANCES, PARA 5 REFTEL, THAT NO COMPROMISE OR ABROGATION OF WORKING PAPER IS CONTEMPLATED. ISRAELIS, HOWEVER, ARE BY NOW A LITTLE WARY ABOUT WORKING
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PAPER AS ADEQUATE BASIS FBR USG-GOI PRIVATE UNDERSTANDING. I BELIEVE SOMETHING FURTHER IS NEEDED TO PERSUADE THEM TO FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON AMBIGUOUSLY DEFINED UNIFIED DELEGATION ROLE. LEWIS UNQTE VANCE

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